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ABSTRACT

Previous studies of mass media consumption behavior within cultural boundaries have yielded important information regarding the selection of communication channels to obtain information by members of specific cultures. However, the selection of mass media information sources in a cross-cultural setting has received little attention in the literature. This paper examines some of the literature on the nature of culture and the different theories of mass media consumption. An attempt is also made to determine if previous research lends theoretical support to further study of the relationship between the cultural group membership of the audience and their consumption of mass media for information. It is concluded that such theoretical support does exist and provides direction for further research in the area. (Author)

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By

Deirdre Grondin

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Mass Media Consumption in a Bilingual Culture:

Implications of the Literature for Further Research

in the Canadian Context

The study of mass media consumption behavior, specifically the selection of certain channels as sources of information in a cross-cultural setting has received little attention in the literature. Although some research has been conducted in marketing to determine whether or not advertising campaigns can be transferred without adaption to specific cultures, most of this research relates to the information-processing perspective of this problem rather than the mass media consumption behavior of different cultural groups (Tamilia, 1977). Researchers such as McGoldrick (1968) contend that the research which has examined market consumption differences between cultural groups in Canada has been somewhat restricted by the "mass market" approach of marketers and the unique Canadian geographical profile. Specifically McGoldrick (1968) states:

> Canadian management has been less sensitive to the regional nature of Canada's markets. Generally we have been guided by the 'mass market' concept. Having discovered that the narrow 800-mile territory between Windsor, Ontario and Quebec City, though embracing less than 1 percent of the total area of Canada, contained 62 percent of the population of the country and 84 percent of its industrial activity, we happily dubbed it our mass market. Yet . . . this so-called mass market contains two distinctive markets, the one French-speaking, the other English-speaking . . . In Canada, where much of the basic decisions are taken in Eastern Canada and by Anglo-Saxons, the resulting situation is not conductive to an early recognition of the business significance of the market diversity which characterizes our nation (p. 75-78).

In contrast to the ethnic and minority group consumption behavior research thrust in the United States (e.g., Andreasen, 1973; Joyce and Govoni, 1971), there has been virtually no such thrust in Canada. Consequently the purpose of

this paper will be to consider the problem of mass media consumption in a bilingual culture. This will be attempted first by examining the literature concerning the nature and operationalization of the concept culture; second, by reviewing the different theories of mass media consumption within cultural groups to determine if research previously undertaken in this area would lend theoretical support for cross-cultural study of mass media consumption; and third, by identifying a possible theoretical approach for study of the differences in mass media consumption between French and English-speaking Canadians when seeking information about their language rights.

The importance of studying mass media consumption behavior from the perspective of the audience has been suggested by several authors. Freidson (1953) quoting Blumer (1948) said that:

> The characteristic behavior of the members of the mass takes the form of selection. In this sense, if it is accurate to consider members of the audience to be members of the mass, then their characteristic behavior lies in their selections of particular movies, programs and newspapers. This selection become the important thing to explain. If it is accurate to consider the audience to be a mass, then according to the concept of the mass, those selections are to be explained by factors that are not an essential part of the primary or local group experience of the audience. . . . Such attributes must explain audience selection or we are justified in concluding that the audience is not a mass. Of late there has been some feeling that such data are not sufficient to explain audience selections (p. 314).

Riley and Flowerman (1951) advanced the opinion that individuals in an audience do not react as isolated personalities but rather as members of the various groups to which they belong and associate. Friedson (1953), quoting Riley and Flowerman (1951), further indicated that the identification of the significance of word-of-mouth advertising suggests that:

> The member of the audience selects his mass communications content under a good deal of pressure and guidance from his experience as a member of social groups that, in fact, his mass communications behavior is part of his social behavior and that mass communications have been absorbed into the social life of local groups (p. 315).

The fact that audience behavior takes place within the complex social networks of a particular culture is also evident from a review of the literature on the effects of mass media conducted by Klapper (1949). He said that:

> A substantial number of careful objective studies indicate that cultural milieu is one of the most important, if not the single most important determiner of an individual's pattern of communication behavior. . . . The individual apparently adopts or develops, patterns of communications behavior characteristic of persons in his own cultural level. . . . Should he come in contact with a new medium of communication, his behavior in relation thereto is governed by the pattern. The new medium is in short not so likely to change the pattern of his behavior as rather to be absorbed (Klapper, 1949, p. 6).

The relevance of the study of mass media consumption behavior by French and English-Canadians for information regarding their language rights became important when the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recommended the passage of a Canadian Official Languages Act to the Canadian Parliament in 1969. Section 25 of this Act declared that:

> The English and French languages are the official languages for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada (First Annual Report, Commissioner of Official Languages, 1971, p. 2).

Further, it appears that the Commissioner of Official Languages responsible for the execution of the Official Language Act, presumed that both French and English-speaking Canadians would have equal and similiar consumption patterns and equal accessibility to mass media and other sources of language right information.

The validity of this assertion was challenged by a study of mass media

consumption among Montrealers by Monique Mousseau-Glaser (1974). She found that:

> Among all linguistic groups, even the equilingual ones, there are very few who watch TV programmes and read newspapers in both languages. Unilinguals and bilinguals, other than equilinguals mostly consume mass media products in the language they know best. The linguistic factor alone is incapable of explaining the attraction of the francophones for the English-speaking media, nor does it offer satisfactory explanations for the behavior of equilinguals (p. 325).

Due to the apparent uncertainty concerning the processes by which mass media consumption takes place among English and French-Canadians, it is crucial that this area be investigated prior to further legislation or enforcement of the Official Languages Act.

To ascertain whether mass media consumption differs across cultural groups, first, it is neccessary to discuss the nature of the concept culture, including its operational dimensions and to examine theoretical approaches to mass media consumption. Second, it is important to determine whether there is sufficient evidence to support the contention that cultural differences (such as language and value differences) between) English and French speaking Canadians will lead to significant differences in their consumption of the mass media to obtain information regarding their language rights.

The Nature of Culture

"The concept of culture is in many ways an esoteric term which suffers from a lack of proper delineation of its subject matter. As a result, culture has become a catchall word for a broad range of social phenomena" (Tamilia, 1977, p. 78). For Tamilia (1977) culture and cultural influences are perceived as a cognitive phenomena. He suggested that "the manner we see the world and classify objects, the meaning we give to objects and the resultant evaluations of these objects for decision-making purposes can be thought of as being the result of culture" (p. 79). Likewise, Triandis (1973) designated culture as

being essentially a cognitive phenomena. He argued that the basic life experiences of cultural groups mold and shape their cognitive structures along similar lines resulting in perceptions of their environment that could be different from those of other cultural groups. Similiarly, Engel et al. (1973) defined culture as "the complex of values, ideas, attitudes and other meaningful symbols created by people to shape human behavior and the artifacts of that behavior transmitted from one generation to the next . . . a set of learned responses" (p. 29). And, for Linton (1968), "culture is the configuration of learned behavior; the results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by members of a particular society" (p. 465).

On the other hand, Laudin (1973) looked at culture as both process and product. Quoting Sir Edward B. Taylor, he said that these processes and products comprise a "complex whole which includes, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits by man as a member of society" (p. 5). Following Tylor's (1958) more holistic view of culture would lead one to treat different media such as television or radio as products or material things created by man to meet his needs i.e., to provide information or entertainment. Thus, the medium men choose to satisfy their need for information or entertainment would depend upon processes or nonmaterial things like the ideas, values, beliefs and behaviors towards a particular medium which are learned as a result of socialization to a particular culture.

Further, Laudin (1973), in outlining the process and product approach to culture, indicated that there are five levels of culture. The first level he called the biopsychological level. At this level, Laudin (1973) included such cultural commonalities as age, sex, health and general ability to function in social situations. The second level of culture that Laudin (1973) identified was ideology, which is comprised of the values and beliefs that act as social

and personal guidelines for the society in which we live. The attitudinal level, the third level of culture is concerned with the way we tend to look at life. The behavioral level of culture, the fourth level, proposes that we behave according to the views, beliefs, values and attitudes of the culture into which we are born. Finally, according to Laudin (1973), the fifth level of culture is concerned with social situations. It is a complex mix of the other four levels of culture. "These four factors, when combined with the ideological situation, create a pattern of dynamic relationships, which include the social situation itself" (Laudin, 1973, p. 11). He did not deny that, in all cultures, there are some basic commonalities without which human beings could not function. However, Laudin (1973) proposed that differences in culture exist as a result of differences in the socialization process by which we learn our culture and as a result of resistance to change. Indeed,

> It is not clear why some want and even welcome change, while others resist change. . . .Other American subcultures whose members tend to resist change are the very poor migrant workers . . . the blacks in urban slum traps . . . the Mexican Americans, who are victims of social discrimination because of cultural differences . . . the Puerto Ricans, who must overcome not only social handicaps, but social disadvantages traceable to their desire to speak Spanish and the Amish who keep to their established religious customs (p. 24).

Tamilia (1977) was one of the first and few Canadians to study the effect of the cultural group membership of the audience on their response to advertising. Although, he focused on the information-processing perspective of the audience, Tamilia (1977) suggested that language spoken could be considered as a surrogate indicator of cultural group membership. In addition, he indicated that:

> Language provides an easily accessible category in a person's perceptual system enabling the person to quickly classify and immediately obtain a profile of the source on the basis of his language. Language is an extremely powerful determinant in triggering particular sterotypes. In the United States skin color of course would have that role while in Canada it is the language of the person (p. 93).

Moreover, Tamilia (1977) argued that although language has been only minimally studied in media use (specifically advertising response), it has been the central variable in the research strategy of French-English social studies. In addition to language differences of an audience, a number of cultural studies have demonstrated the differences in achievement motivation for English-Canadians relative to French-Canadians. Indeed, French-Canadians have been shown to have one of the lowest achievement-motive scores of all groups, including minorities studied in North America (Rosen, 1956, 1959).

The French-Canadian cultural group compared with the English-Canadian group or any other cultural group in Canadian society appears to belong to one of the lowest social class groupings within Canada (Tamilia 1977). Such findings were also reported by Hughes (1943) and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 1969. Tamilia (1977) suggested that differences between French and English-speaking Canadians in social class groupings lead to differences in achievement, motivation, fatalism and self-esteem which may influence the manner they respond to information.

> The highly fatalistic person seems to exhibit inattentiveness to relevant information, spends less time in making a decision, prefers secondary sources of information, rather than first-hand experience, tends to view new information more from a source orientation than from a message orientation, and is more subject to persuasion (Tamilia, 1977, p. 88).

He also contended that it is possible to extend this research generalization to

the French-English cross-cultural setting, in spite of the fact that supportive experimental data have yet to be reported. Tamilia (1977) based this contention on the assumption that these same personality variables are significant discriminators of the two groups model personality structure. Likewise, Wright (1973) also suggested that fatalism, which is closely related to the self-esteem personality construct, has been shown to cause specific differences in the way information is collected and acted upon.

Evidence that the French demonstrate a higher propensity toward fatalism than the English was further demonstrated by Rosen (1959) and Rosen and d'Andrade (1959). And, Henderson, Long and Gantcheff, 1970; and Lambert (1970) noted the tendency for French-Canadians to have lower self-esteem than English-Canadians. Moreover, Schatzman and Strauss (1966); Bernstein (1960); and Lawton (1968) have indicated that groups showing such personality traits engage in less abstract reasoning as opposed to concrete thinking and that they find extrinsic reward or qualifications (i.e., tangible rewards) more motivating than intrinsic ones (i.e. rewards that depend upon internal imagination for satisfaction). Finally, childrearing practices have also been shown to differ between the two groups, with the French family tending to be more father-dominated (Garique, 1964; Yackley and Lambert, 1971).

Operational Dimension of Culture

The operationalization of the concept cultural group membership is historically bound by the fact that most communication research has had a within-culture orientation as opposed to a cross-cultural perspective. Contrary to popular belief, audience cultural characteristics have not been studied extensively (Tamilia, 1977). Tamilia (1977) quoting Sternathal (1972) stated that most communication research has concentrated upon variables like the age,

sex or education of the subject and/or personality characteristics such as dogmatism and self-esteem. Further to this discussion, it appears that since little of this research has been conducted cross-culturally, the interpretation of the function of these variables is culture-bound.

Theories of Mass Media Consumption

A common approach to the organization of mass communication theory is to examine the mass communication process using either causal or functional models. Causal models are those which say we can identify the cause of certain mass media effects. They include earlier models of mass communication like the "hypodenmic model" and "limited effects model".

On the other hand, functional models view the mass communication process in terms of asking what functions the media serve for the audience. Bauer (1973) remarked that in the functional approach, one focuses on the "audience's use of communication through the board range of functions that those communications may serve to the user" (p. 147). The uses and gratifications approach is an example of a functional model which examines the mass communication process at both the individual and social system levels of the audience. The uses and gratifications which have been identified include: surveillance, entertainment, correlation and cultural transmission. These functions or gratifications provided by mass media are seen as being motivated by needs such as the individual's need for information.

Defleur (1966) suggested that, while most studies of mass communication have concentrated on the effects, "there are other theoretical and research questions of significance that can be asked about the media" (p. 119). In addition, Defleur (1966) indicated that the study of the effects of mass communication has undergone change. "This change has for the most part been a

continuous and cumulative discovery of the important intervening processes between the media and the mass, that is between the stimulus and response sides of the stimulus-response equation" (p. 119). In short, Defleur's (1966) organization of contemporary theories of mass communication proposed five different approaches which include: the individual differences theory, the psychodynamic model of persuasion, the social categories theory of persuasion, the social relationships theory and the sociocultural model of the persuasion process.

The individual differences theory of mass communication effects evolved as a result of changes in psychological theories of behavior. These new theories proposed that human behavior was a result of inherited mechanisms rather than conditioning and that learning, attitudes and values affected an individual's perception. "With these new theories in the background, students of the mass communication process had to alter their thinking about mass media" (Defleur, 1966, p. 121). The audience was no longer perceived as a passive entity and "selective attention and perception had become intervening psychological mechanisms that were entered into the stimulus-response scheme of mass communication theory resulting in differential response" (Defleur, 1966 p. 121-122). This response was individualistic in that the member of the audience selectively attended to messages that were consistent with his beliefs, values and attitudes. The effects of mass media were therefore viewed as varying from individual to individual rather than being uniform among the audience members.

The psychodynamic model of persuasion has been the object of extensive research as theories of motivation, perception and learning suggested relationships between persuasion, attitudes, opinions, fears and self-concept. While persuasion is only one possible effect of mass communication, Defleur (1966) indicated that it has been widely used in advertising under the assumption that the persuasive message will alter the psychological functioning of the

individual and, thus, cause a change in behavior. This assumption has not always been validated empirically and Defleur (1966) suggested the psychodynamic model of persuasion like the individual differences theory is subject to "many kinds of 'effects' other than overt adoption of some action" (p. 125).

The social categories theory identified by Defleur (1966) overlaps somewhat with the theory of individual differences. "The latter assumes that there are broad collectivities, aggregates or social categories whose behavior in the face of a given set of stimuli is more or less uniform" (p. 127). Education, sex, income, rural-urban residence provide examples of such social groups. Moreover, the basic assumption of the social categories model is that, while modern society if not homeogeneous, it does contain aggregates of people who have similar characteristics and who will respond similarly to mass communication. The individual differences theory was later combined with the social categories theory by Lasswell (1948) and the resulting description of the communication process became exemplified as: a source, producing a message, to be sent by some channel, to some audience, to produce some effect.

"The role of the group relationships in mass communication seems to have been discovered almost be accident" (Defleur, 1966, p. 129). As a result of the work of Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet in 1940, it was found that "informal social relationships play a significant role in modifying the manner in which a given individual will act upon a message which comes to his attention via mass media" (Defleur, 1966, p. 131). This theory led the way to the communication process known as the two-step flow of communication. In this theory, the role of opinions leaders as an intervening variables were recognized and included in the categories of psychological and sociological variables already assumed to influence the basic stimulus-response approach to mass communication.

Finally, the sociocultural model of mass communication was proposed by

Defleur as an alternative to the social relationships theory. This model "follows from the idea that media effects in general are influenced by the social interactions a group member has with his fellows" (Defleur, 1966, p. 133). A rich body of literature suggests that sociocultural variables are important sources of cues for appropriate behavior, for the interpretation that an indivudual is to make of his world and for the guidelines of socially approved or disapproved behavior (Defleur, 1966). Further Defleur (1966) suggested that the roles, norms, shared values provided by culture help us define our behavior in a social setting and our response to a variety of objects and events including those provided by mass communication.

In addition to Defleur's description of media effects, other approaches to the organization of current theories in mass communicationhave been identified. To this end, the Canadian researcher, Tamilia (1977) has offered a topology which organizes theories of the communication process into two schools of thought. Tamilia's (1977) designated his first school of thought as the Yale formal attitude change school. In it, he included approaches to study of communication such as the classic approach, the learning approach and the hierarchy-of-effects approach. He termed his second school of thought, the group dynamics school. In this school, he organized the communication process into source effects and functional approaches.

First, the Yale formal attitude change school of thought is considered by Tamilia (1977) to be exemplified by Hovland, Janis and Kelly (1953). Tamilia (1977) stated that this school looks at communication from a stimulus-response point of view where the unit of analysis is the individual and his cognitive states. This conceptualization views communication as a one-way process and describes it in terms of effects on the audience. For instance, Tamilia (1977) considered Lasswells (1946) approach (who says what, through what channels

(media) of communication, to whom (with) what results) to be an example of the classic approach to communication. The learning approach identified by Tamilia (1977) is similar in orientation to the classic approach. This approach is sometimes considered the hypodermic needle approach as the audience is conceived as a passive mass which can be injected with message. Finally, the hierarchy-of-effects model exemplifies the learning approach to the study of the mass communication process. It has been the source of a number of other models like the information processing model which view the persuasive process as a series of mental steps (e.g., attention through comprehension). Tamilia's (1977) second school of thought, the group dynamics school is exemplified by Katz and Lazerfeld (1955) and Bostian (1970). They considered the individual to be part of a social group with which he interacts and which he uses as a referent in his response to persuasive messages. In this school of thought, the unit of analysis becomes the social system in which communication is considered to be a two-way process.

The source effects approach, an example of this school, explains the communication process by considering the source of communication as its common underlying concern. Specifically, the source effects research strategy focuses on the effects of the source and its characteristics on the persuasive process (Tamilia, 1977). Lastly, the functional approach according to Tamilia (1977) is concerned with the sociology of mass communication. It focused its attention on the audience and explained the potential of various mass media to provide need gratification to various audiences.

Theoretical Approach to a Study of French/English Mass Media Consumption

The uses and gratifications approach (the functional schools of thought) to the study of communication has been utilized by a number of researchers to explain mass communication behavior. This particular approach to the study of

the mass media consumption behavior of the audience would appear to offer the most appropriate starting point for the study of French-English mass media consumption to obtain information regarding their language rights. Consequently, in this portion of this paper, the author will attempt to evaluate the uses and gratifications approach as a possible reference point for a study of the media consumption behavior of English and French Canadians.

The early studies on gratification provided by the media had various methodological problems. Katz, Blumber, Gurevitch (1974) declared that:

> The statements about media functions were decided from respondents in an essentially open-ended way. Second, they shared a qualitative approach in their attempt to group gratification statements into labelled categories. . . . Third, they did not attempt to explore the links between the gratifications detected and the psychological and sociological origins of those needs that were so satisfied. Fourth, they failed to search for interrelationships among the various media functions, either quantitatively or conceptually (p. 21).

As a result of these failings, early studies did not greatly add to the development and formulation of theoretical statements about media gratifications (Katz, et. al. 1974).

The more recent studies in gratifications research have had a number of different starting points. Essentially, they are all primarily concerned with

> "(1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement of other activities) resulting in (6) need gratifications and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones" (Katz, et. al, 1974, p. 21).

Whatever the starting point for these more recent studies, they all attempt to assess media use in audience related terms and rest upon a similar body of assumptions. Lundberg and Hulten (1968) have assembled various assumptions into

a uses and gratifications model. The model includes the following elements: First, the audience is conceived of as active, rather than passive and mass media use is assumed to be goal directed; second, the initiative for linking needs and gratifications sought rests with the audience member; third, other sources of need satisfaction compete with mass media; fourth, audience members are sufficiently aware of their needs and motivations for use and interest in the particular medium; and fifth, the researcher will suspend value judgements about the cultural significance of mass communication and concentrate solely on the orientations of the audience.

In like manner, several researchers have identified individual or multiple lists of gratifications, provided by the mass media. For example, (Nordenstreng, 1970) has stated that mass media is unifunctional in that it provides satisfaction of the need for social contact. Similarly, Schramm (1949) described media use as bifunctional, in that it meets the need for surveillance and escapism.

A four-functional topology of media gratification was first identified by Lasswell (1948) and then further developed by Wright (1960). Wright (1960) suggested that media served the functions of surveillance, correlation entertainment and cultural transmission (socialization). McQuail, Blumber and Brown (1972) have also advanced four functions of mass media including: diversion, personal relationships, (substitute companionship), personal identity and surveillance. Additionally, in an effort to encompass the wide variety of functions attributed to mass media, Katz, Gurevitch and Hass (1973) proposed a scheme that says that the audience members use mass media to connect or disconnect themselves via different types of relationships with others such as family or friends. Finally, in a marketing approach to the functions of mass media, Septrup (1977) considers the information provided by mass media to be a product.

He then proceeded to propose a theoretical framework that says that mass media use is a function of (1) the importance of the topic to the consumer; (2) the size of the consumer's information need; (3) the consumers expected amount of information inside normal media use; (4) the consumer's costs of the perceived information sources and (5) the consumer's expected amount of information outside normal media use. To be sure some of the variance in these media function topologies resulted from the fact that some audience gratifications can be derived from the content of the media, the media exposure per se or the social situation in which media exposure occurs (Katz, et. al., 1974).

In spite of the apparent difficulties with the theory aspect of the uses and gratification approach, a number of empirical studies have been undertaken in the area. Most of these studies specifically examined whether the mass media provided different gratifications for a specific cultural groups or a specific segment within a cultural group.

For example. Lometti, Reeves and Bybee (1977) looked at the gratifications sought from particular communication channels. Specifically they attempted to determine whether people differentiate media based upon gratification and whether they were age-related differences in the dimensions adolescents use tc differentiate channels. They found "three interpetable dimensions. . . . These dimension labels suggest the primary evaluations people make in differentiating communication channels". They also found that these dimensions to be operative across different age levels (p. 334).

Johnstone (1974) examined the relationship between mass media use (specifically television) and the social integration of adolescents. Two uses of mass media were identified in this study: "uses where the individual takes into account the context of the social milieu, and . . . other, uses that, carry the

individuals attention away from the exigencies of his or her every day life" (Johnstone, 1974, p. 46). Johnstone (1974) felt that use patterns represent the perspective an individual brings to his/her media use and account for the variation he found among television viewing of adolescents and their degree of social integration. He concluded that "heavy consumption within this age group may function as a substitute for interpersonal gratifications" (p. 46).

In another study of the functions of mass media for the audience, McGuire (1974) examined the relationship between communication gratification and psychological motives. McGuire's (1974) investigation had as its starting point the motives and needs of the individual and his/her characteristic way of satisfying these needs rather than the gratifications offered by mass media. Questions asked by McGuire (1974) included: whether or not mass consumption is motivated as opposed to haphazard behavior, whether the gratifications provided by mass media are so little as to be non-motivating factors in media selection, and whether the rationality of the audience in indexing the gratifications provided by media is overexaggerated. McGuire (1974) concluded that "while initial exposure might be largely the outcome of chance and situational factors . . . that for the behavior . . . to be maintained it must be reinforced by the gratification of human needs" (p. 191).

The adoption of a uses and gratifications approach to the study of the cultural group membership of the audience and their consumption of mass media to obtain information regarding their language rights could be attempted by relating the social origins of the audience (as determined by his or her cultural background) to their media consumption behavior. This poses a difficult task as "the social and environmental circumstances that lead people to turn to the mass media for satisfaction of their needs is little understood" (Katz, Blumer and Gurevitch, 1974, p. 26). As a starting point, one might postulate that the combined product of the psychological dispositions, sociological factors

and environmental conditions of a particular cultural group determine the specific uses of the media by the groups members. To develop a general theory of the relationship between the cultural group membership and media use is difficult because of the process which relates an individuals social situation to gratification sought from mass media is not clear. Some of the following suggestions have been made by researchers. The social situation: "produces tension and conflicts, leading to pressure for their easement via mass media consumption (Katz and Foulkes, 1962)"; second, it "creates an awareness of problems that demand attention, information about which may be sought in the media (Edelstein, 1973)"; third, it "offers impoverished real-life opportunities to satisfy certain needs, which are then directed to the mass media for complementary, supplementary, or substitute servicing (Rosengren and Windahl, 1972)"; fourth, it "gives rise to certain values, the affirmation and reinforcement of which is facilitated by the consumption of congruent media materials (Dembo, 1972)"; and fifth, it "provides a field of expectations of familiarity with certain media materials, which must then be monitored in order to sustain membership of valued social groupings (Atkins, 1972)," (Katz, Blumer, Gurevitch, 1974, p. 27).

The above fourth social situation (the individual's social situation gives rise to certain values, the affirmation and reinforcement of which is facilitated by the consumption of congrent media materials) offers the best possibility for examining the relationship between cultural group membership and mass media use. If an audience member's social situation gives rise to some of his needs, values, beliefs and attitudes and encourages his behavior to be congruent with the other members of his social situation, one could argue that the resulting behavior (i.e., media use behavior) would be culture-bound. It would be culture-bound because those needs, values, beliefs and attitudes are learned through the socialization process or the process by which each of us learns and

absorbs our own culture. Similarly, if one could demonstrate that needs, values and beliefs of a culture, as well as its language are different, it might also be possible to demonstrate that the behaviors (media use) exhibited as a result of these differences are also different.

In conclusion, the literature already provides some support for this approach to the investigation of culture's role, in media use. Tamilia (1977) quoting Freidson, (1953) has already stated that "media need gratification across cultural groups may be functionally different" and that "such an assumption is not unreasonable, given the already established differential media consumption habits of certain cultural groups in North American society" (e.g., Bauer and Cunningham, 1970, Mousseau-Glaser, 1972 and Tamilia, 1972, p. 77).

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